

# PEACE NEWS

No. 989 June 10, 1955 4d. (U.S. Air Express)  
Edition: 10 cts.

Registered as a newspaper.  
Entered as second-class matter at post office, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.

## REPORT ON GRAVESEND

### By Sir Richard Acland

DURING the early days of our campaign in Gravesend against the British manufacture of the H-bomb, we did not know whether we were going to fight a by-election or whether we should be absorbed into the General Election. During that period, we heard from scores of local friends the unanimous verdict: "You may get on all right in a by-election,—might even win; but if it's a General, you'll be sunk without trace—won't come within miles of saving your deposit."

By comparison with these gloomy forecasts, the actual result was reasonably encouraging. If I am right in thinking that two-fifths of those who supported us would have voted Conservative, and three-fifths Labour, it means that one in six of the Labour voters stepped outside the official ranks of party, and one in ten of the Conservatives voted for an avowed socialist, on the issue of the H-bomb. This is not an insignificant result.

But it must be freely confessed that our final figure of 6,500 votes fell very much short of the high expectations which it seemed legitimate to entertain during the last week of the campaign, and many who came down from outside to support us, and who picked up the cheerful atmosphere of our headquarters, must have been disappointed when they heard or read the actual figures.

#### The last 48 hours

I do not think that we were being misled in the reports we had during the last week-end. At that stage, people had genuinely decided, or almost decided, to vote Independent on the H-bomb issue. We had a meeting on the last Tuesday,—small enough, of course, in comparison with pre-war meetings gathered for smaller causes—but attended by 8-900 people who gave our case a tremendous reception. We certainly went home feeling that we were doing well.

In the last 48 hours, however, "The General Election" took charge. Till then, as in almost all other parts of the country, the General Election had seemed stone cold.

If I must pick out one special factor which told against us, I would point to the Daily Mirror's final effort under the slogan: "Keep the Tories Tame." I can hardly doubt that in the country as a whole this slogan must have been responsible for saving at least 20 marginal seats for Labour, thus depriving the Conservatives of the 100 majority which at one time many had forecast. In Gravesend, it swept through our housing estates, and swung hundreds who had almost decided to vote on the H-bomb into solid support for Labour.

One particular friend of ours from the hotel where we had been staying, had discussed the campaign with us at every stage in terms of "our side"; after the close of the poll, she said to my wife: "The whole town agrees with him, but somehow you know they felt they had to vote Labour." And we had little doubt that she had done so herself.

#### Silent opponents

My great regret (indeed, I think I can say my only regret, as I look back on the campaign), is that I did not succeed at any point in persuading my opponents to discuss the hydrogen bomb. There is, however, one compensating advantage to be derived from this fact. No one can for a moment take advantage of the Gravesend figures to suggest that in a typical constituency you have 42,000 who agree to the making of the H-bomb and 6,500 who oppose it.

The Gallup Poll proved surprisingly accurate in its forecast of General Election voting. It is probably no less accurate in its test of opinion on the H-bomb. It showed that Conservatives are against it in proportion 46:44; Liberals against it 58:27; and Labour voters against it 60:24. The trouble is,—as we found,—that five-sixths of the Labour voters and (given a socialist candidate) nine-tenths of the Conservative voters, find that party loyalty is more important.

I am not sorry that we fought the campaign in Gravesend on the lines that we did. Many of those who took part, both from within the constituency and from outside, have already written to me or told me that they would do exactly the same thing if they had it all to do again. I am enormously grateful for all the support that was given. I shall try to write to as many as I can; but large numbers will have to accept my cordial thanks only through the columns of Peace News.

## Doctors discuss medical effects of radio-activity

# BOMB TESTS WILL BRING CANCER TO HUNDREDS

—Dr. Richard Doll

By OLWEN BATTERSBY

"ONE thing is certain: an increase in the level of radiation causes cancer," said Dr. Richard Doll, addressing a crowded audience of doctors and scientists in London last week-end, at the Annual General Meeting of the Medical Association for the Prevention of War.

Dr. Doll is Research Worker in the Statistical Research Unit of the Medical Research Council in London.

It was fairly safe to say, he continued, that as a result of the tests at present being carried out, there would be several hundred cases of cancer in America in the course of time.

In the industrial field we knew that where miners had been exposed to a strong concentration of radium, the death rate from cancer of the lung was thirty times higher than elsewhere.

In Japan, among those affected by radiation as a result of the Hiroshima bomb, cancer appeared to be from 15-25 times greater than among normal people.

the sort of weapon used, how it is used, and under what circumstances."

It had been said that the radio activity resulting from the Bikini tests had been 1,000 times greater than would have resulted from a normal fission explosion, and could have rendered an area of 7,000 sq. miles—the size of Wales—uninhabitable.

Such a result, it was stated by scientists, could have been caused only by a "three stage bomb," i.e., a bomb described as an H-bomb with an outer casing of uranium 238, in which the atom bomb operates by fission,

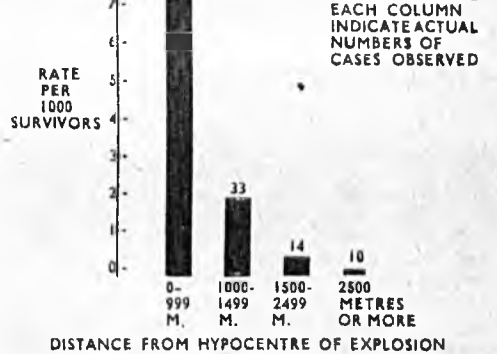
#### INCIDENCE OF LEUKAEMIA

AMONG ATOM BOMB SURVIVORS

IN HIROSHIMA AND NAGASAKI

1947-52

(After LANGE, MOLONEY & YAMAWAKI, 1964)



the hydrogen section by fusion, and the uranium casing again by fission, the extent of radiation danger being by this means greatly increased.

There had been no official contradiction of this statement. Why was secrecy allowed on matters affecting the whole human race, now and for generation to come?

Dr. Discombe, dealing with the short term effects of massive irradiation, said that these might be divided into three headings, the effects of blast and falling buildings; the effects of heat, flash burns, etc., and ionising radiation. The effects of the last were so to reflect the psychological mechanism that recovery from the former injuries became impossible.

#### AT NAGASAKI

Dr. Richard Dobbs, speaking on the effects on the foetus, said that the most common congenital abnormality was mental deficiency, since this could result from varying causes and at most stages of pregnancy.

At Hiroshima, of 11 pregnant mothers who were within 12 metres of the centre of the explosion and survived, no less than seven bore mentally defective children. At Nagasaki, of 98 mothers pregnant on August 7, 1945, and within 2,000 metres of the centre of the explosion, 30 received major radiation effects, and 68 were without major radiation effects. Among the first 30 there were three abortions and four still-births, a loss of 23 per cent.; among the second 68 there was one abortion and two still-births, a loss of 4.4 per cent. Among 113 pregnant women who were outside a 4,000 metre radius there were two abortions and one still-birth: a percentage of only 2.7 per cent.

Mr. John Maynard Smith spoke of the long term biological effects. An increase in radiation background meant an increase in genetic change, and most, if not all, changes were bad changes. Mutation of genes would cause recession which might not show for some hundreds of years; the effects would last for some thousands of years. Where two descendants so affected married, disaster would result.

To say that radiation might be increased

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## After Trafalgar Square . . .

### MANY PEACE RALLIES PLANNED FOR JUNE

Big meetings in London and Bristol last week-end, reported below, are to be followed by others aimed at keeping the issue of the manufacture of the H-bomb before the public.

On Tuesday, June 14, CANON RAVEN, broadcaster and former Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University speaks at a public meeting at LOUGHTON (Essex.) On Friday, June 17, DR. DONALD SOPER addresses a big public meeting in the Congregational Hall, PURLEY (Surrey), supported by other local clergy.

On the following day, a coach will carry London and home counties supporters to a demonstration in the Naval Dockyard town of PORTSMOUTH. Speakers from the Peace Pledge Union, the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Society of Friends (Quakers) will have the support of several Portsmouth clergy.

Thousands of leaflets urging the pacifist case and carrying the day's programme are being distributed in the town.

In Epsom (Surrey) a group of pacifists are to hold a meeting in the Myers Hall, Ashley Road, at 7 p.m. tomorrow (Saturday), to plan activities in the locality.

Full details of these events appear in the Diary on page five.

## Peace through H-bombs?

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

INTO the warm sunlight rainbowed by the breeze-flung spray from the Trafalgar Square fountains, swung the London Pipe Band heading the poster-paraders, who had marched from Dick Sheppard House in support of the demonstration last Saturday by the Standing Joint Pacifist Committee.

Around Nelson's Column and as far back as the National Gallery, the crowds reacted instantly. Those with open minds, or curiosity, or pacifist views crowded forward or found seats at the back of the Square. The remainder, a relative few, hurriedly withdrew.

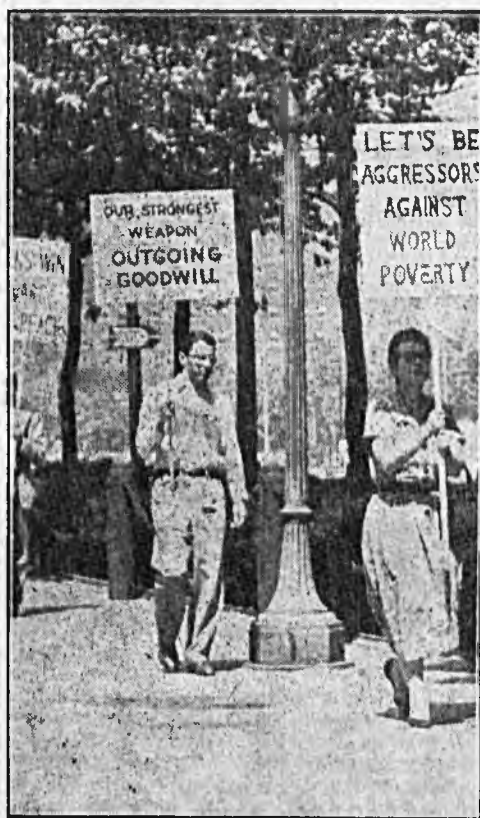
Half-a-dozen Coldstream Guards settled themselves near the platform. A military policeman, two Royal Army Service Corps men, three other-rankers from the United States Air Force, a couple of Marines, and a few RAF Aircraftmen dotted the listening crowd. Here and there London policemen sauntered about in pairs, eyeing the Peace News vendors, admonishing youngsters who were sailing paper boats in the fountain ponds, and returning lost handbags to absent-minded young ladies.

The seductive force of the lovely June day, urging relaxation and devil-may-care soon gave way to the power of the compelling voices of Sybil Morrison and Stuart Morris in briefing the people on the subject, "Peace through H-bombs?"

The Rev. Kenneth Greet, a Methodist Minister, brought silence to the chattering audience when he said, "The manufacture of the H-bomb has no contribution to make to the impoverished condition of the world. Not only is the world for the most part poverty-stricken—it is also hunger-stricken. Not only is the world poor and dreadfully hungry, it is also full of dreadful disease. Poverty leading to hunger, leading to disease—these are the basic factors of living for the vast majority of our fellowmen, and the H-bomb has nothing to offer them. This is a world of unrest and tension."

"Thousands of years ago the Chinese language was invented, and the word they

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## AT HOME AND AWAY

These pictures show American teams active in the business of promoting peace in their own country and abroad. The photograph above shows participants in the counter-demonstration against Armed Forces Day during a poster parade which was recently held in Philadelphia. It was initiated by the local Fellowship of Reconciliation office.

On the right four of the six members of the Quaker goodwill visit from the US to Russia are seen boarding their plane.

Unlike the British Quaker Mission to Moscow in 1951, they are going as private tourists, their arrangements having been made in the usual way by the Intourist agency. They may split up into ones and twos and travel widely in the Soviet Union during June. The visitors are (l. to r.) Wroe Alderson, Clarence Pickett, Eleanor Zelliot and Stephen Cary.





June 10th 1955

## PEACE NEWS

3 BLACKSTOCK ROAD, LONDON, N.4  
Tel: STAMFORD Hill 2262 (three lines)

Distribution office for U.S.A.:  
130 Brattle St. Cambridge 38, Mass.

*Fear, being always ashamed of itself is always becoming unconscious. It escapes from its own pain by becoming hatred.*  
—A. CLUTTON-BROCK

### COLONISTS

LAST week in Tunisia saw the culmination of the first important stage of a French policy that was initiated by M. Mendes-France nearly a year ago, when he brought a new attitude of imaginative enterprise to the country's rather murky colonial policy.

His first step was to release Habib Bourguiba, leader of the Tunisian nationalist organisation, the Neo-Destour, from his confinement on the island of Groix and bring him to Amilly in France where he would become available for consultation in the formulation of a new policy.

This new policy initiated by M. Mendes-France in regard to Tunisia was carried on by his successor, M. Faure, and at the end of May agreements were signed which, while not giving Tunisia complete sovereignty over its own affairs marked a real stage in the provision of genuine home rule, and which the Neo-Destour had found sufficiently encouraging to be accepted.

On Thursday of last week Habib Bourguiba returned to Tunis. There were tremendous mass demonstrations of rejoicing which, as a result of Neo-Destour appeals, led to no violence and found part of their expression in a new cordiality towards Frenchmen reminiscent of the changed attitude of the Indians to the British once their right to independence had been recognised.

The solidarity of the Tunisian people behind the Neo-Destour has greatly impressed the French settlers, and these have now to face the fact that the future before them is very different from what they might have contemplated twelve months ago.

The French Chamber of Agriculture for Northern Tunisia has issued a statement declaring that the French Government by its action has broken faith with French citizens in Tunisia and calling upon M. Faure's Government to draw up a plan for the safeguarding of French agriculture and French citizens' rights. This is interpreted as a covert demand that French farmers should have the option of being bought out by the French Government.

★ ★

We shall doubtless see rapid developments and fresh difficulties with the settlers under the new regime and we hope that the French Government will seek to resolve them along the lines that the settlers appear to be suggesting.

We are convinced that this is the only means to the peaceful development of colonial independence wherever the problem is complicated by the presence of any considerable number of European settlers. We believe that the same consideration applies very forcibly to Kenya, and that there cannot be any promise for the future in that unhappy land until a considerable proportion of the settlers are induced to leave on reasonable terms.

While the principal victims of imperialist policy are the natives of the colonial territories, it must be remembered that in a certain sense the settlers are victims too. They are the victims of the basic insincerity that has always governed imperialist policy.

There were early declarations in Kenya that the policy of the government of that land must be the "paramountcy" of native interests, and similar declarations have accompanied the imposition of rule by Europeans upon non-European peoples wherever this has occurred.

It is apparent, however, that such a policy can only be seriously applied where the settler policy is of a particular type and aimed at attracting a special kind of settler—the dedicated person who is honestly content to devote his life to serving the interests of a people who are to be brought as rapidly as possible to democratic independence.

This policy has never been pursued by any of the imperialist powers and the consequence has been that the type of settler attracted has in the main merely been actuated by a desire to serve his own interests.

He is not to be condemned for this. He has simply brought into the colonial field the values that are looked for in the successful business man. Nothing else has been asked for from him. The life he has been offered is one that was held to offer a spice of adventure and a special bonus for initiative and enterprise. When the political factors around him change it is the interests for which he has worked that are his main concern.

This applies to the British colonial policy just as it does to the French. The first requisite of a realist colonial policy today that genuinely faces and accepts the resolve of the "backward peoples" to achieve their independence is the recognition of this fact, the realisation that the settler is a liability incurred through the mistakes of past policy, and the formulation of a new policy that will remove him from the scene with as much humanity and consideration as possible.

## No help from the military

JUST before starting to write this letter, I was reading a book, recently published, by John Scott entitled *Political Warfare*. The sub-title, *A Guide to Competitive Co-Existence*, pretty well suggests the political orientation of the author which I do not wholly share, but it contains a large amount of very useful information.

The reason for referring to the book here is that I was struck by a vivid illustration Scott gives of how colonial powers habitually treat natives, how men habitually spend money on coercive rather than on remedial measures and how consistently this defeats their purpose and exposes them to the insecurity they wish to avoid.

"The security forces," says the author in a section on the turbulent state of Tunisia, "which protect the French against the Tunisians cost about thirty times as much as the public health organisation which protects the Tunisians against disease."

In the proportion of funds spent by the American government on the armed forces compared with expenditures for economic aid, and in many other cases, we find illustrations of the same blindness and perversity.

### "Blunting" catches on

There is much talk about relaxation of tension these days, but not yet any indication of a reversal in this policy of concentrating on military security at the expense of other things. A few months ago I called attention to plans

of the US Air Force for "blunting" operations against enemy air bases, atomic arsenals, etc. The idea is to blunt the forces with which the enemy is expected to hit you by knocking out his installations before he can get under way. By calling it "blunting" you plainly put it out of the category of "preventive" action.

### Counter-surprise

Now it appears that in the midst of the arduous peace policy being pursued by the Kremlin these days, the Soviet Air Force also has its plans for "blunting" operations, though so far as I know it does not employ this particular phrase.

On May 8, Marshal Aleksander M. Vasilevsky, First Deputy Minister of War in the USSR contributed an article to *Izvestia*.

"It is known," the Marshal points out, "that among the favourite weapons in the arsenal of the imperialist aggressors are treachery and suddenness of attack. . . . The Soviet Union is aware of these dangerous and crafty practices of the imperialists and has drawn corresponding conclusions for itself." Those who aim to surprise should be treated to a dose of surprise.

One's imagination begins to play with the idea of surprise, counter-surprise, counter-counter-surprise and so on.

The Soviet Union, Marshal Vasilevsky assured the readers of *Izvestia*, "has at its disposal everything that is necessary to deprive the aggressor, in the case of the unleashing of

## A European Bandung?

RUMOURS have recently been circulating to the effect that certain neutral nations in Europe were preparing a document on nuclear warfare for presentation to the Great Powers. This document would show the utter futility of such warfare and would also indicate the possible effects on the human race of continued testing of atomic weapons.

This kind of activity demonstrates the new character of neutrality today, or at least the new character that is developing. Neutrals, like belligerents, realise that there is no future for them if World War Three takes place, and they are searching for some solution to the world's present problems other than by recourse to war.

Because of their non-involvement in the power struggle, they are better suited than the belligerents to develop intelligent and humane policies for ending the Cold War. Their statesmen are not paralysed by the old diplomacy nor hampered by considerations of prestige. They thus correspond, in Europe, with the Colombo nations which called the Bandung Conference in Asia.

At the present time it is the policy of the Soviet Government to foster the idea of a neutral zone across Europe to act as a buffer between herself and the West. Even if this zone were to be conceived of as no more than a buffer, that would be no reason for opposing the idea since it is obviously better for the peace of the world that Soviet and Western armies should be several hundred miles apart than that they should be ranged along the same frontier with the continual incidents and provocations that that implies.

But the zone can be very much more than a buffer. It could be an area where policies of "active independence" could be worked out to their fulfilment. And because of its composition (including ultimately perhaps all of Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Albania and Denmark, besides the immediately obvious states of Finland, Sweden, Switzerland, Austria and Yugoslavia), states with a Western-style and states with a Communist-style basis, it should be possible for a thorough interchange of ideas and experience to take place between them in an uncoercive atmosphere.

It is possible even that they may be able to resolve the fundamental antipathies of Communism and anti-Communism, by producing some new socio-political conception transcending them both.

A group of nations in Europe vigorously engaged in that type of pursuit could hardly be described as "merely neutral." They would, in effect, be the least neutral of all nations because they would be intimately concerned with eradicating the political and psychological causes of the Cold War.

This is an idealistic view of the role of a neutral zone in Europe. But there is no reason why it should not come about for all that. Two months ago the very idea of such a zone, active or passive, would have been regarded as idealistic. So was Bandung first regarded, but it has probably had more influence on world politics than any event since the end of the war.

## U.S. agents or Chu Lieu sympathisers?

THERE has been a revolt in the Kwangtung and Shensi provinces of China, and a Reuter despatch records that in Shensi, some six thousand miles north-west of Hong Kong, 52 people have been executed and 450 sentenced to terms of imprisonment.

The two districts from which the report of the revolt comes have been seriously affected in recent months by drought and famine. The Chinese Press claims that the revolutionary action has been fomented by "counter-

revolutionary elements," and the Southern Daily comments:—

"As many counties in Kwangtung province are adjacent to Hongkong and Macao and are accessible to these two places by land and water, many favourable opportunities are provided for United States and Chiang secret agents and counter-revolutionary elements to slip into the interior to engage in sabotage."

It is no more certain that this rising was initiated by agents of Chiang and the United States than were the risings in East Berlin set in motion by the latter; although no doubt here, as in Berlin, such agents would do their best to stir up trouble once the rising was under way.

There is an influential movement in Hong Kong that is just as much opposed to the activities of the United States in Asia as it is to Chinese and Russian Communism. This is the Chu Lieu, which can be translated into "main current" or "main stream".

Its conceptions of policy are based on the view that along the lines of either American capitalism or Communism, humanity is taking the wrong direction and is becoming bogged down in frustration and disaster. It aims to seek a way back to the main direction of human progress. Its thought runs strikingly along the same lines as the Third Way conception in the West.

So far from being agents of Chiang, some of the Chu Lieu leaders have suffered persecution and imprisonment at the hands of the Formosa Government before they took refuge in Hong Kong. Their ideological discussions are, of course, confined to Hong Kong, but we understand that they have considerable underground support in the adjacent provinces of China. So it is at least conceivable that the aspirations expressed in the rising were aiming at a new and radical re-orientation of policy and would be as hostile to capitalism

### The Cominform

WE commented last week on some of the likely consequences of the apology offered by Khrushchev to the Yugoslav Government. We pointed out that to attribute the past attitude of the Cominform to the perfidy of Beria was to condemn the punishment and "liquidation" (i.e. murder) of those other European politicians who were accused of following the Tito line. It was clear that the Cominform countries would be likely to interpret what has happened as giving them a new freedom.

The first manifestation of this is rather ironical. The leaders of the Trieste Communist Party fiercely repudiate that they were in any way influenced in their Cominform attitude by Beria. The leader of the Trieste Communist Party, Viddali, had in fact been deputed to assemble evidence regarding Tito's offences, and Beria was not in any way responsible for the indictment they had framed.

This statement by Viddali is possibly felt to be necessary as a gesture of self-preservation. After all, if the action taken by the Cominform was wrong and Viddali was a principal agent in providing the information upon which it was based, it might be held that he should go the way of Beria.

It will be interesting to see how the Cominform will face this situation. In a "monolithic" organisation, when the base turns the whole block turns, and if it is to function as it has done in the past it will be necessary for all the Communist Parties to agree that they

## BEHIND THE NEWS

co-operated in perpetrating the injustice brought about by the evil Beria. Whether, apart from the Trieste Communists, all the other parties acquiesce in this "right about face" in the future or not, they are likely to be encouraged by the Yugoslav example to manifest some occasional independence of view, and we are likely to see a further stage in the interment of Stalinism. It is possible even that in time the leaders of the Communist Party in Britain may be willing to disclose that they have minds as well as a capacity for taking instructions.

In a recent pronouncement Nehru has said once again that if the Russians really mean what they say when they talk of the desirability of refraining from interference in the internal affairs of other peoples, it is time that they brought the Cominform to an end. The present attitude of the Russian Government in international affairs may have produced a readiness to follow this advice, and as it is now admitted to be the instrument of Beria's criminality in regard to Yugoslavia, it is bound to be rather an embarrassment than a useful instrument of statecraft in the pursuance of Russian policy. Perhaps we may therefore reasonably hope for its end.

## The Pentagon and von Bonin

MR. SEFTON DELMER'S interpretation in the *Daily Express* last week of the dismissal of Colonel Von Bonin from Herr Blank's Ministry was precisely opposite to our own of April 22.

He implies that the Von Bonin military conception increased the danger of "an opportunist Germany, remilitarised and rearméd" dragging its American backers into war.

We have taken the view that what Von Bonin was doing was to plan, largely in the style of our own Captain Liddell Hart, for limited military conceptions that would be likely to carry with them less danger than the integration of the twelve German divisions in NATO.

Colonel Von Bonin advocated a small professional army in place of a large conscript army, and he wanted assembled along the Eastern borders of West Germany. In his plan it would have consisted largely of anti-tank units and would be of a character that could plainly present no aggressive threat to Russia, while being of more immediate defensive utility than troops arrayed beyond the Rhine.

Mr. Delmér emphasises the fact that the Von Bonin conception was a military force independent of NATO, and he holds that Von Bonin was dismissed not because the German Government was basically opposed to the view he was advocating but because it regarded it as "premature and therefore dangerous."

We do not think that the Von Bonin plan lends itself to such an interpretation as to its intention, although there was of course the possibility that it might have developed as Mr. Delmér implies; there is, however, no final security against this happening if the NATO conception is developed.

It is a delusion to imagine that a national army, even "integrated," can be used in opposition to the wishes of the Government that recruits it.

We have thought the matter worth reverting to, however, because of the particularly interesting comment made by Mr. Delmér. He says that Von Bonin was receiving Pentagon encouragement for his plans.

If this is true, it either means that Mr. Delmér is right in his appraisal of the plan, and in that case the Pentagon envisaged the Von Bonin army as an advance instrument in an aggressive war of "liberation"; or it means that the Pentagon was, much earlier than has been realised in Europe, becoming aware of the dangerous possibilities attaching to the German place in a European army.

## Letter from U.S.A. by A. J. Muste

time being and the present purpose—Titoism ceased to be a devilish heresy and became a permissible form of Communist theology.

The business of blaming the old trouble on Beria appears crude and has been so described by all the commentators I have so far read. But I think it must be interpreted in the light of the fact that one of the chief, perhaps the chief grievance of Tito was that under Stalin and Beria the Russians sought to run the secret police in the Yugoslav Party, government and armed forces. I speculated in an article written shortly after Stalin's death that the time when Russian commissars could run Communist parties and governments by Russian intelligence and strong-arm forces might be at an end.

### A new Communism?

I linked this with a further speculation that the talk of a collective, as against the old one-man leadership, might be serious and not a mere attempt to cover up an internal power struggle. I based this mainly on the theory that no Russian Communist would be able to lord it over Mao Tse-tung or even Chou En-lai in the old Stalin manner, hence it would in future be collective leadership or chaos. I suggest that the recent overture to Tito may represent an attempt at further extension of the pattern of an international collective Communist leadership. If it worked, Communism might well be more attractive to many peoples and more formidable than under Stalin.



## At the London Tribunal GARGLING AND KILLING

WHERE does a conscientious objector draw the line to his interpretation of the Commandment, "Thou Shalt Not Kill?"

This, in effect, was the weighty question put to David Redmill, when he appeared before the Fulham Tribunal on May 27.

Redmill, a butcher's assistant, based his objection on religious grounds.

"If you take 'Thou Shalt Not Kill' in its fullest sense," commented Sir Gerald Hargreaves, "you wouldn't gargle. Are you a vegetarian?"

Redmill: "No."

Mr. Little (a member of the Tribunal): "You are quite willing to enjoy the results of killing, but averse to yourself doing the killing, then?"

Redmill was unable to answer, and recognising the fact that he had not had sufficient time to grapple with all the implications of the religion to which Dr. Billy Graham had brought him last year at Harringay, the Tribunal decided to put back Redmill's application for three months.

### Four years plus; two minus

"I have just spent four years learning how to heal people," Male Nurse B. Smith told the Tribunal. "Now I am directed to spend two years learning how to destroy life."

"You don't want to fight because of your nursing experience?" asked Mr. Tudor-Davies. "Then what is your attitude to the Non-Combatant Corps?"

Smith said that whilst he felt that non-combatant duties in time of war were justified, he objected to them in time of peace, as he believed they were inconsistent with the idea of disarmament.

The Tribunal accepted Smith's objection to using lethal weapons, but ruled that he should be directed to the Non-Combatant Corps.

### "I can't answer here"

Another objector, Martin Bourne, having based his application on love toward one's neighbour and towards God, was posed with the quandary of what one should do if and when these two instructions come into opposition to each other.

"I can't answer these things straight away," he told the Tribunal. "You get so nervous standing here."

A witness, John Taylor, said that Bourne wished only to serve God. "Military service is an extreme service to the master that is not God," he said.

The Tribunal, dismissing the application, decided that Bourne should try to discuss the subject further, and then go to the Appellate Tribunal.

## FLOATERS

DID you read about the small boy who having written in an essay on the General Election about those party members who had automatically made up their minds how to vote, went on to describe those who were in doubt as being "all at sea and therefore called floaters?"

The floating vote had a decisive influence in many constituencies, but even more decisive was the power of the political machine and a blind loyalty to a party rather than to principles. But organisation is necessary and only dangerous when the machine becomes of more importance than the spirit.

It should be the outward form through which the spirit can express itself, as we believe it is in the Peace Pledge Union. That is why I ask for your help to supply the necessities for keeping the machine running smoothly and well, and seeing that it does help to put the real spirit of pacifism across in the best way possible.

Our list of annual subscribers rises steadily, slowly, and there are others upon whom we know we can rely for a donation.

The Peace Pledge Union Headquarters Fund is mainly for use by the floaters—those who are sympathetic, though not yet necessarily committed to pacifism: those who, although pacifists, do not want to promise an annual subscription. And the floaters are of very great importance to us. Indeed, we rely upon them to provide one-fifth of our annual income.

So, please, help us not only to keep afloat, but to take full advantage of the present tide in the affairs of men, and send in your contribution to the PPU Headquarters Fund this week without fail.

STUART MORRIS,  
General Secretary.

Our aim for the year: £1,000.  
Amount received to date: £378.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

**I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER  
SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER**  
This pledge, signed by each member, is  
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**P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS**  
Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1

## Report from Malaya DR. HOMER JACK INTERVIEWS PACIFIST MEMBER OF LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

ON my last day in Kuala Lumpur, Malaya, I tried to interview leading Malayan citizens from the various political parties since the first elections for the Federation Legislative Council are to be held on July 27.

I talked to an Indian from the Party Negara and a Chinese from the Malayan Chinese Association. It was on the eve of the Islamic New Year, and most of the Malays were out of town for the holiday. The Chinese politician urged me to see a leader of UMNO (United Malay National Organisation) who was in the hospital. He only had foot trouble and could easily talk to me. His name was Abdul Aziz b. Ishak.

Late in the afternoon I found the huge General Hospital, in a section of the capital of Malaya which had been bombed during the war, and soon I found Aziz, sprawled on a bed in the populated ward, with the radio blaring. He greeted me warmly and soon we launched into an interview during which he told me of the origins of the important Alliance between the MCA, the UMNO, and the MIC (Malayan Indian Congress). He assured me that this Alliance would win a majority of the 52 elected seats in the July elections. He told me

members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. I haven't seen a pacifist at Bandung or elsewhere in Indonesia, in Singapore, or—up to then—in Malaya. And here this journalist (Federation representative for an influential Malay newspaper) and member of the Federation Legislative Council (representing UMNO) calmly tells me he is a pacifist!

I was a bit astounded and sceptical and asked, "What kind of a pacifist?" And he replied, "I don't believe in any form of violence."

And then he told me that he was in India in 1949 to attend the World Pacifist Congress. Yes, he knew A. J. Muste, Amiya Chakravarty, Michael Scott, Reginald Reynolds, and the rest, but he admitted that he had been out of touch with them since. He said that there was a discussion group on pacifism before the second world war and, when he returned from India, he tried—unsuccessfully—to get another going again.

## MALAYAN CO-OPERATIVE



Co-operative stores and enterprises are a growing feature of the Malayan economy today. This is a co-operative shop in Ula Langat, Selangore.

He is apparently a man of conviction even if a lonely one in Malaya, for he was the only man in the legislative council who voted against the "call-up" bill.

Here was a kindred soul—and pacifists the world over should send him peace-related literature at his residence at 91 Hale Road, Kuala Lumpur, Malaya, for Moslem pacifists are not too easy to come by in Malaya or anywhere else, especially a man who will probably rise high in the leadership of a free Malaya.

Aziz and everybody were talking about the riots in Singapore on May 12. They started

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## PEOPLE AND PLACES

### "Adversary of all wars"

BELGIUM'S Queen Elisabeth, grandmother of the present King, Baudouin, caused a stir in cold war circles when she accepted an invitation from the Polish Ambassador to attend the Chopin Festival in Warsaw this year.

From Berlin, Heinz Kraschutski sends me an account of Belgian Foreign Minister Spaak's brush with the 79-year-old Queen on this issue. The very free translation is from the Hamburg Friedensrundschau.

THE QUEEN: Would you have protested if I went to France for a musical festival?

M. SPAAK: But the West is not in a cold war with France.

THE QUEEN: And I am not in a war with Poland. I am an adversary of all wars.

M. SPAAK: But would it not be better if you left it to the government to fight against the danger of war?

THE QUEEN: I beg you to permit an old lady to fight against the danger of war as she thinks best. In my ears the melodies of Chopin sound more agreeable than the noise of atomic explosions although you pretend that atomic weapons protect peace.

M. SPAAK: But I am afraid that the good name of Belgium will suffer when you go to Warsaw.

THE QUEEN: Chopin was not a secret agent for Moscow. I hope that my trip will contribute a little to the reduction of political tension in the world. Music brings people closer together—if it is not just a military march. Fortunately Chopin has not composed a single military march.

After her visit Queen Elisabeth, who was born a Princess of Bavaria, received a letter of approval from the Bavarian Women's Peace League.

The Queen, they said, had given "a striking example to us and all civilised nations of realistic work for mutual understanding between nations on a really Christian basis."

The Queen replied: "Your kind letter has touched me. I am especially glad that many Bavarian women have understood my views

and activities and are busy in the same way for peace."

### Two years old

THE NEW Zealand Conscientious Objectors' Advisory Committee although only two years old has done some good work.

Letters offering help to COs have been sent to all the Church magazines—and most of them published! A small poster has been distributed to Churches and colleges, similar to the familiar British "Notice to young men . . ." setting out the rights of conscientious objectors. Advertisements have been placed in daily newspapers. In short, the Committee is working along the lines of its British counterpart.

The Secretary is Patricia Hislop, PO Box 1992, Auckland, N.Z.

### Politician's denial

AUSTRALIA has no such CO Advisory body and a recent editorial in the Australian Peacemaker urges that consideration should be given to setting up an organisation "to assist the eighteen year olds who have the courage of their convictions to refuse to be conscripted for military training."

Mr. Menzies, the Australian Prime Minister has denied that his country's commitments under SEATO mean that conscription for overseas service will be introduced.

It is certainly time our Australian friends prepared to meet the new legislation which a denial of its coming usually portends!

### "Unqualified approval"

"ROOTS of Friendship," the account of the visit to Britain of six young Russians last year published by the Friends Peace Committee is a good 2s. 6d. worth.

I would rate the visit as next to the Quaker Mission to Moscow of 1951 in improving Anglo-Russian relations.

The easy informality of the visit comes through in the 60 pages of this pamphlet. It

## APPEAL TO SCIENTISTS

### Face moral responsibility

THE problem of moral responsibility for the scientist is just as international as is science itself says Dr. Max Born, Nobel Prize-winning physicist in an article in *Physikalische Blätter*, a German scientific journal.

Dr. Born, a member of the Society for Social Responsibility in Science, addresses an appeal particularly to German scientists not to evade the social implications of their work. Writing from the United States Dr. Born says:

"During the twenty years which I have spent abroad, great changes have occurred in the realm of physics. It is no longer a quiet, pure science, but has become a decisive factor in the power politics of states. I have been only an onlooker of the revolution which was initiated by Hahn's discovery of the splitting of the atom. It seems to me that these changes have been more evident to the physicists of the Anglo-Saxon countries than those of Germany. For the former, it is impossible to escape the moral question of how far they want to be part of the development of forces which endanger the very existence of civilised mankind."

Dr. Born commends the work of the Society for Social Responsibility in Science and mentions the British pacifist, Dr. Kathleen Lonsdale, as an example of a responsible scientist seeking to draw attention to the moral implications of modern science. He appeals to his German colleagues to consider these implications themselves and also the danger to scientific freedom involved by military or government control of research and publications.

If he neglects these questions, concludes Dr. Born, "the physicist may lose his personal freedom as a citizen, as well as the freedom of science itself."

## Briefly

This Week Magazine, a supplement to the Chicago Daily News, recently carried the story of the US Treasury's "Conscience Fund" and the strange contributions made to it. One paragraph read: "However, the reaction of one scientist to his role in the war was different. As a nuclear project researcher, he'd received a salary of \$14,000, and after much soul searching he'd decided to 'refund' it. He said flatly, 'I do not feel I should be paid for having been forced to participate in a programme deliberately planned to destroy human life more effectively.'"

The organ of the National Council of Women of South Africa, NCW News was devoted in its February issue to an appreciation of Olive Schreiner on the occasion of the centenary of her birth.

## Present military planning is lunacy—LIDDELL HART

CAPTAIN LIDDELL HART, military editor of the Encyclopaedia Britannica, described the planning for total warfare as lunacy, when lecturing on "How Military Ideas have Shaped the History of the World," at Queen's University, Belfast, on May 12.

Post-war progress moved so fast in the development of the H-bomb that all military calculation on which defence planning was based was upset, he said.

## By Hugh Brock

appears that my description in Peace News last August of the arrival of the Russians at London Airport—"Happy informality . . . No embassy officials, no immigration officers . . . (it) had the character of friends welcoming returning holiday-makers" held good for the whole of the stay.

Not that there was not heated discussion at times between the six Russians and their Quaker hosts. Tempers became a little frayed in a discussion about visits by individuals as opposed to delegations, but, we are told, "Sheila Calam and Ruth Cannell ran into Evgenii Bugrov and Geli Chernov in the village shop soon afterwards, and Evgenii offered them some chocolate, asking them to accept it as 'individuals'."

What was the impact of this visit on the Russians? Did the young British pacifists get their ideas across to their guests?

You will be able to judge for yourself, for an appendix to the pamphlet is a translation by Frank Lees, one of the Russian-speaking Quaker hosts, of an article, published in *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, October 12, 1954, by Viktor Khmara in which he described his visit to England.

The initiative taken by these young Quakers, he said, deserves "unqualified approval."

### Increased majority

IT was not until after the election that I saw a copy of Victor Yates' Election address. It was a forthright statement of his convictions.

Victor Yates' constituency, Ladywood, is in central Birmingham. Connie Jones, Peace News organiser in Birmingham, tells me that some of it is derelict, and that although many of its slums are being cleared there are still many back-to-back houses.

"Unlike most of the candidates here," Connie Jones writes, "he has, at all his meetings, made it clear that peace is the primary issue; not just to save our own skins, but as the practice of the brotherhood of man."

His election address was, apart from those of the pacifist independents, one of the few to mention the needs of other races, rather than increasing those at home.



## THE POINT OF BEING A PACIFIST

**OLIVER CALDECOTT replies to Campbell Wilkie, who last week wrote on Pacifism and the Third Way.**

I HAVE little doubt that Mr. Campbell Wilkie is right to be suspicious of politics and compromise; but I have equally little doubt that as pacifists we cannot allow the chance of creating a strong anti-war movement to go by default simply because there are some difficulties in the way of co-operation with non-pacifists. History, I think, will not be impressed by lonely isolation.

Of course, it is true that pacifists find compromise difficult and ultimately are not able to compromise on their first principles. But I find on all sides in the pacifist movement a tendency to rate essentials too highly. I am always being told that I can't be a pacifist if I am not a vegetarian, an anti-vivisectionist, a Christian, or a nature-cure. Perhaps. Like most human beings I am neither consistent nor uncorrupted, but I am a pacifist and by that I mean I repudiate war in national and international affairs and won't, personally, support the use of social violence (though I waver on the rights and wrongs of having a police force and a legal system).

The point of being a pacifist is above all to secure peace. And I am prepared to work with anyone who genuinely and primarily wants peace, too, whether or not he shares my personal rejection of military service under all circumstances or goes further than I do in opposing other forms of death-dealing, such as animal slaughter or abortion to save a mother's life. In the real world we must make some effort to impress our wills upon the shape of events and if we want to avert World War III we must look at the factors which are producing it and help to negate them. If the analysis offered by the Third Way movement is sound, and if that movement is tolerant enough to include pacifists and non-pacifists who share the aim of securing peace then, whatever the difficulties, we should not stand aside.

Mr. Wilkie seems to agree that the pacifist should help the Third Way movement provided he does not desert his pacifism. I quite agree, but I do not think that co-operation within this movement will endanger anyone's pacifism—partly because, in the development of its lines of action, the Third Way will almost certainly need pacifist help and guidance, and partly because pacifist influence can help in keeping it from falling for the same errors which have diverted the Labour Party from its socialist path and turned it into an authoritarian reformist party.

That is to say, the Third Way will have to do more than offer neutralism to the nations of the world; it will have to turn that neutralism into a positive, indeed, revolutionary policy, using means compatible with its ends. Neutralism is the obvious answer to Soviet and American pressure and may, indeed, become increasingly popular with the uncommitted nations as the H-bomb panic grows. But neutralism is a temporary expedient which does not attack the causes of war and violence. We need a political movement which does. If the Third Way movement does then pacifists have no right to stand outside it and if they do stand outside it, they cannot object if it becomes less and less acceptable to them.

I know that the "reform from within" argument is used by many people to justify entering the Communist Party, the Catholic Church, the Labour Party and, in South Africa, the United Party. I am not using it here. I don't think the Third Way movement is yet corrupted but I do think it might offer an opportunity for non-pacifists and pacifists to work out a joint programme.

This programme may or may not include unilateral disarmament and other essentially pacifist ideas (as Mr. Alan Litherland, in Peace News, April 1, desires) or it may leave some of these open, but it will be a lot less pacifist and a lot less acceptable if it is formulated without the intrusion of pacifist views.

As a pacifist I shall be satisfied with nothing less than a society and a world in which the use of force is totally absent, but as a potential victim of World War III I'll settle for being given a chance to work for that world. If Marshal Tito and Pandit Nehru can create a neutral bloc to mitigate the Cold War and thus give us all a respite from the threat of annihilation I don't see anything unprincipled in preferring those policies to those of Dulles and Molotov—and saying so. Nor do I think it confusing to support or prefer such temporary expedients in the "here and now" while using the respite to create the sort of world I want in the "there and then."

Mr. Litherland and Mr. Wilkie, with their all-or-nothing-ism, are not helping pacifists to get their ideas over to the non-pacifist majority; they are making pacifist action impossible and pacifism unattainable. The essential foundation for a pacifist policy is the re-creation of international confidence and reasonableness: in laying this foundation the Third Way as a movement and the neutralism of uncommitted nations both

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## The defeat of Sir Richard Acland

By GEOFFREY CARNALL

ACLAND'S defeat at Gravesend was a severe disappointment. Here was a candidate who had raised an issue which all informed people (whether they supported Acland or opposed him) would agree was the most important now confronting mankind. He had raised it as clearly and as emphatically as possible. But in the event it was largely ignored.

Correspondents seem agreed that very few questions about the H-bomb were asked at either Conservative or Labour meetings at Gravesend. And the voting confirmed this.

To the electors it was simply a question of Labour against Conservative. The H-bomb was a somewhat embarrassing diversion from the really important issues.

Belfast, where I write, is a long way from Gravesend, but I suspect that Labour voters here are much like their counterparts in southern England.

As one canvasser in the long bleak streets of red-brick houses, the children who play football in the roadway, or swing themselves menacingly on ropes suspended, gallows-fashion, from lamp-posts, cheerfully shout out "Vote Labour!" (In other streets the children presumably shout "Vote Unionist!" with equal good humour.)

Their parents declare their political allegiance in the same unsophisticated manner. "Oh yes, we're voting Labour. We always do." "Oh no, we're Sinn Fein." "Sorry, all Unionists here."

What decides their vote? If Labour, the feeling that that is a way to do something about unemployment; if Unionist, the deter-

### EDUCATING FOR IGNORANCE

"EVERYTHING possible must be done to convince the public of South Africa that the Bantu Education Act is the most sinister, as it is the most far-reaching piece of apartheid legislation so far produced. It must be defeated," writes Father Trevor Huddleston in a foreword to this valuable examination of the Union's latest racial enactment.

The deplorable implications of Dr. Verwoerd's policy are made quite explicit by extensive quotations from his own statements. No white teachers for African children, extreme discrimination in wages between African and white schools, all the school chores included in their three-hour-shift school day, just enough of the three R's, with elementary religious instruction, singing and rudimentary Afrikaans and English to understand orders and be useful menials, no facilities at all for illiterates above twelve years old, early rejection of all less apt pupils, and no rights of advance beyond a certain level of education or a labourer's status in society.

The only glimmer of hope is that this pamphlet was printed and published in Johannesburg. The herrenvolk have not yet stifled the right of opposition. The struggle can go on within South Africa, and there are men of courage and devotion, who deserve all the support we can give them.

Should this pamphlet be reprinted, it could, with advantage, include the actual text of the Bantu Education Act and some indications of a constructive alternative to it.

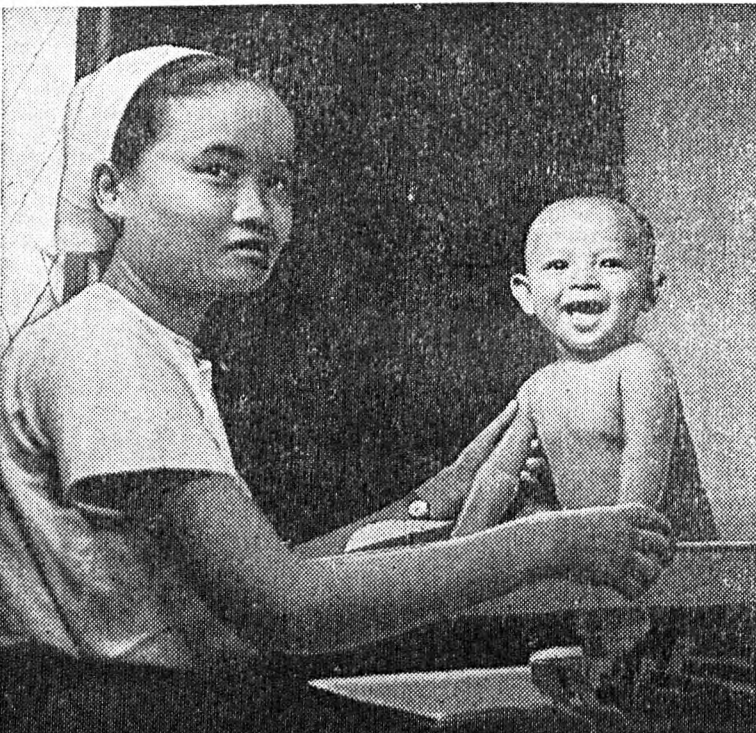
H. F. M.

\*Published by the S.A. Congress of Democrats, Somerset House, Johannesburg. Obtainable from Housmans Bookshop, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4. Price 6d.

### Beating race discrimination

The Spring issue of CORE-elator, the newsletter of the Congress of Racial Equality in the United States, reports important progress in the national campaign against racial discrimination. The famous amusement park of Coney Island, playground of New Yorkers, this year admitted Negroes for the first time. In Baltimore, Maryland, scene of racist demonstrations earlier this year after the US Supreme Court decision to end segregation in schools, a programme of joint action against discriminations has been initiated by CORE. Several local community groups are participating. In Evanston, Illinois, site of the World Assembly of Churches meeting, two Negroes have been elected to the executive board of the YMCA.

### SOMETHING TO SMILE ABOUT



This Burmese baby has reason to smile. He is getting expert care from the child care services which the government of his country is setting up with the help of UN experts. Some 500 maternal and child welfare centres are striving to cope with the serious mortality rate among Burmese youngsters. This baby is having his periodic "check-up" at a Rangoon centre. Unations

mination to keep Ulster British; if Sinn Fein, the resolve to clear a foreign government out of Ireland.

All traditional, well-understood political aims.

### TRADITIONAL ANSWER

Could one bring home the challenge of the H-bomb to these people?

I doubt it. If pressed they would probably have given the traditional answer which satisfied the electors of Gravesend: "If others have got the bomb, we must have it too."

The real issue is not faced, and one must admit that it is difficult even for a pacifist quite to take in what the advent of nuclear weapons means. A war fought with H-bombs is, literally, unimaginable. A policy for survival demands too great an exercise of the imagination, too drastic a revision of the questionable assumptions which our culture takes for granted, to be expressed in an election address.

The problem that disturbs and perplexes a scientist like Lord Adrian, a philosopher like Bertrand Russell, a military theorist like Liddell Hart, can hardly be grasped by the average voter.

### THE PRESS

I saw three articles on Acland's campaign in the national press. There was Laurence Thompson's in the News Chronicle, Hugh Massingham's in the Observer, and V. S. Pritchett's in the New Statesman. My first impression was that they were all engaged in subtle propaganda against Acland—a good man, of course, who can appeal to the sporting prejudice of the English for the lost cause. And it is a lost cause, they insisted.

In retrospect one can admit that there was probably no propagandist intention, and that in describing Acland's campaign as a lost cause they were only giving their impression of the mind of the electorate at Gravesend. V. S. Pritchett in particular gave a wholly convincing and rather horrible account of Gravesend children laughing, cheering and giggling at the cinema show about Hiroshima, at the shots of the "half-burned babies, mutilated mothers, headless bodies."

The children who play in the streets of Belfast would have done the same.

### CLEAR ISSUE

Was Acland mistaken, then, in resigning in protest against the Labour Party's acquiescence in the British H-bomb project? I do not think he was. It is much too soon to evaluate the repercussions of his resignation, which brought the H-bomb issue more clearly before the public than perhaps it has ever been before. As V. S. Pritchett himself put it, "Here and there, there must be imaginative people who understand the guilt of the West and the change that must take place before it is expiated."

It is sad that the imaginative people should be comparatively few, but there is no reason for despair on that account. We must reconcile ourselves to the fact that if Britain ever does give the world a lead out of its present fears and hatreds, it is not likely to come through the direct pressure of the electorate.

## JUDGEMENT ON CHINA

China and the Cold War, by Michael Lindsay. Melbourne University Press, 21s.

THE title of this book might suggest to some that this is another informative, or would-be informative, book about the China of today.

Actually its basic theme is really the cold war, and China is incidental, and so in a sense is factual information. Nevertheless there are to be found scattered through these pages a considerable number of quite interesting facts, mostly relating to the period when the author was in close touch with what was actually taking place in China. For example, his brief account of the Kuomintang in 1947 in Formosa against the Kuomintang—and its suppression, supplies a section of the background to the present situation which helps to a better understanding of certain important factors.

Lord Lindsay, however, suggests that there was a marked deterioration of Chinese Communists after about 1949 or 1950 (when he left the country). A Chinese Communist might, perhaps, be excused if he commented that the author in general approved of the present Government of China and its doings when he had first-hand knowledge and generally disapproves of them since his information has been less direct. Such a comment, however, would really miss the mark. Still, there seems no doubt that Michael Lindsay was deeply hurt by the way in which the Chinese Communists who visited England in 1950 under the leadership of Liu Ning-i rebuffed their old comrade (as he seems to have expected to be regarded) of the days of resistance to Japan in the hot war. Nevertheless the author certainly attempts to be impartial and to a large extent succeeds.

### Confucianism

Though replies are possible to some of his criticisms from other than a Marx-Leninist standpoint, in the main they seem to me just and important. Of many things in China, both today and in the past, he has many things to say which are not trite but true. He is not the first who has recognised that Confucianism served in some respects as an effective school-master to bring the Chinese to Marx-Leninism (to adapt St. Paul's phrase) and not always in ways which most of us would approve, but Michael Lindsay also clearly regards Chiang Kai-shek as fundamentally a Confucianist rather than a Methodist.

It will seem to many readers of this journal regrettable that there should be a number of passages in the book like this one: "If the government of a country is under the control of a fanatical group committed to objectives which cannot be realised without war, then, in the long run, war is inevitable."

We are told in the Introduction that the first draft of this book was an epistle to Rewi Alley, the New Zealander who elected to stay on in China when the author and most of the rest of us non-Chinese decided to leave. Rewi's two books, "Yo Ban Fah" and its sequel "People Have Strength", are readily available in this country at the appropriate shops at a fraction of the price of this book (a point which might be noted by anyone with a deep concern for sound propaganda) and are free from any suspicious taint of impartiality. One can, therefore, have some sympathy with the impulse to write that epistle.

### Peace offensive

But since this book is in fact published in Mr. Menzies' Australia, a selective use of such passages as the above could be quite harmful. Actually the author is concerned rather to urge (even if only as a rather forlorn hope) an active and, above all, an intelligent peace offensive from the West. On this he has much to say that is cogent and timely.

Most of us will find ourselves in agreement with his judgment that "Fanaticism and irrationality can be found on both sides of the division between Communist and non-Communist, even though the distribution is uneven. The Stalinist left and the extreme anti-Communist right are very largely in agreement over many of the main issues relevant to world peace." So I do not wish to carp unduly, for, as suggested, we may likewise find ourselves in agreement with Michael Lindsay over many (though not all) the main issues relevant to world peace.

The book is not light reading. Much of it amounts to a serious discussion of the difficulties, all too real, in the way of co-existence. It may be cautiously recommended to pacifists with a taste for theoretic disquisitions and a critical mind of their own which will enable them to assess for themselves the degree of validity in the arguments presented. I think, too (and I feel sure the author would approve this) that it could be studied with advantage by pacifists about to pay a visit to Communist countries. In any case the Postscript, written after the author had accompanied the Labour Party delegation to China some months ago, must not be overlooked.

LEONARD TOMKINSON.

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Each writer will be introduced to Peace News by three weeks' free trial supply. Peace News 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.



## Talking of books . .

## The Church and Pacifism

By Robert Greacen

War, Communism and the Christian Faith, by Percy Hartill, B.D. James Clarke, 4s. 6d.  
Of Sins and Winter, by Maurice Rowdon. Chatto and Windus, 11s. 6d.

REV. Percy Hartill, Archdeacon of Stoke-on-Frent, has written an excellent little book in just over one hundred pages. Every pacifist, whether a professed Christian or not, ought to read it.

The first part of Archdeacon Hartill's volume consists of five lectures given at the 1952 summer conference of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship; they aim at expounding the theological position with regard to pacifism in the Anglican communion. Although the book is specialised in approach and does not examine the theological position in the other Churches, everyone interested in Christian theory and practice will find much that is interesting in what Archdeacon Hartill has to say.

He explains that he deals here with Communism in order to give his thoughts a practical as well as a theoretical basis, for the only conceivable large-scale war today is one between the Communist world and the West.

"If Christian truth requires us to repudiate Communism," writes Archdeacon Hartill, "because of its false valuation of the human person, the same truth requires us to repudiate war. Both are involved in the same error—regarding the individual as existing solely for society, whereas in fact neither individual nor society can exist without the other, and both exist for God."

Not the least valuable chapters in WAR, COMMUNISM AND THE CHRISTIAN FAITH deal with Archbishop Temple and pacifism, and with Article 37 (of the famous "Thirty-Nine Articles") of the Church of England. It is indeed heartening to have this reasoned statement of the pacifist position, based on tough theological argument rather than on emotion. The effort required to get through this book will be well worth while. It will be interesting to see whether this volume will call forth a reply from a non-pacifist theologian.

Mr. Rowdon's principal character in his novel, OF SINS AND WINTER, goes back to Austria after the War to have a look at the people and country where he had served as a gunner officer. Written in the first person, the "I" of the novel presented a typical "abstinent murderer"—a man, that is, who does not hear the screams of his victim. He has not even the motive of hatred behind his killing. In one of his digressions from the narrative Mr. Rowdon writes:

For the wardens of the concentration camps their victims were things, mere ideas, or one idea, never single and alone like themselves.

Novels like Mr. Rowdon's are of great value in the struggle against war. OF SINS AND WINTER combines subtlety of approach and true compassion. Strongly recommended.

## Why Labour lost

THE Conservatives won the election because the Labour Party failed to take a firm stand against German Rearmament, Conscription, and the H-bomb. If the Labour Party had campaigned vigorously against re-arming the Germans and against making the H-bomb, those million and a half Labour sympathisers would not have abstained and the election would have been won.

Let us hope that Constituency Labour Parties have learned this lesson, and that seats will very soon be found for those splendid anti-militarists Michael Foot, Geoffrey Bing, Archie Manuel and J. Hudson. Fine Socialists like them will be badly needed in the new House of Commons.

83 Park Lane, Pontefract, Yorks.

## Faith in recovery

LET me say that I have voted Labour at this election not because of what the Party is—that would scarcely be worth the boot leather worn away in walking to the Poll—but because of what the Party once stood for and will again when it recovers its sanity on foreign affairs.

Meanwhile I look for the return to the Labour Party of "Dick" Acland and the recovery within its ranks of the Christ-like vision and wisdom of George Lansbury.

JOSEPH JACKSON.

19 Coombe Gardens, Ensbury Park, Bournemouth.

## Men of principle

THE ordinary reader is often perplexed by the conflicting advice given by contributors to Peace News. Pacifists, we are told, must have no truck with non-pacifists or near-pacifists on political matters. It is useless to ban the H-bomb because it does not banish war itself, which is the basic evil, and so on.

I venture to assert that compromise and expediency, however distasteful they may be to the idealist, cannot be entirely ruled out. In all walks of life there are times when we have to accept half a loaf or less provided we get a step nearer the goal. In other words we have to choose between what is desirable and what is practicable.

Let us not carp and cavil at parliamentarians like Emrys Hughes, James Hudson, R. W. Sorensen, Peter Freeman, Fenner Brockway, Victor Yates and others who have put principle and conscience before Party and rendered such fine service to many great causes: peace, the treatment of coloured races, the liberty of the individual, anti-conscription and justice to man and beast. If instead of mutual recrimination we try to work out a practical

## Plaid Cymru Conference

PLAID Cymru, the Welsh Nationalist Party, has decided to hold its 1955 annual Summer School and Conference at Portmadoc from July 29 to August 5.

A special programme has been arranged to celebrate the thirtieth anniversary of the establishment of the Party. There will also be celebrations of the party's progress in the recent General Election.

Among the four hundred members and supporters who are expected to attend there will be some thirty visitors from small European countries.

Accommodation will be provided in the homes of friends of the movement while two hundred young members will be provided with camping facilities.

All the lectures will be on various aspects of the general subject, "The History of the Development of the Plaid Cymru policy, its present situation, and the way ahead."

The offices of Plaid Cymru are at 8 Queen Street, Cardiff.

## LETTERS

policy in co-operation with our parliamentary supporters we shall be doing something worth while.

55 Fitzjohn's Avenue, Bournemouth.

## Communists and pacifists

TO put it briefly, Francoise Delisle thinks that people who were not pacifists during

the last war, or who have not become pacifists since then, are "wobblers and compromisers" and cannot be sincere in opposing preparations for another war which would devastate the world.

I can imagine no greater disservice to the cause of pacifism than this intolerant attitude.

(Rev.) KENNETH RAWLINGS.  
St. Michael's Rectory, Lewes, Sussex.

## Report from Malaya

FROM PAGE THREE

just three weeks after the socialist-orientated Labour Front formed a coalition government in the newly-constituted Singapore Legislative Council. The violence was obviously an attempt not only to embarrass the Labour Front, but to win control of the growing if restive labour movement in Singapore. The ostensible focus was a bus strike and the strikers were helped by young students from several Chinese schools. Students out for a lark? Hardly. These Chinese schoolboys (and girls) had been infected with the Communist virus. They gave the strikers money and food and provided their entertainment and abused the police (who under great provocation were remarkably and relatively non-violent).

Lin Yutang, sophisticated author, recently quit his new job as Chancellor of a new Chinese university in Singapore. Once safely out of the Straits Settlement, he told how terror is being used in the Chinese schools of Singapore and Malaya to intimidate students, faculty, and administrators. People laughed at Lin Yutang at the time, feeling his statement was sour grapes, but the riots of May 12 have shown how correct he was.

All is quiet in Singapore at the moment, but the Chinese students have had their victory celebration. The Labour Front government tried to crack down and close their schools temporarily and expel some of the ring-leaders, but an all-party committee urged leniency so an all-out investigation can be made to find a permanent solution for the Chinese schools. At present they are not only sources of real infection of the younger generation of Chinese with Communism, but—being communal schools—they effectively separate the Chinese from the Malays, Indians, Eurasians, and Europeans who constitute at least ten per cent. of the population of this otherwise Chinese city of Singapore.

Ordinarily, as the United Kingdom relinquishes control of both the Federation and the Settlement, one would expect that the two would unite in a free Malaya (as the Strait Settlements of Malacca and Penang have already united with the Federation). But the recent riots made the people of the Federation pause. They have had enough trouble with seven years of Communist terror in the jungle. With a delicate balance now existing among the Malays and Chinese in the Federation (2,858,000 Malays and 2,185,000 Chinese plus 685,000 Indians and Pakistanis), the addition of almost one million Chinese from Singapore would give a united Malaya a distinct Chinese majority.

And there is a tragic fear and prejudice against all of the ten million overseas Chinese living in Southeast Asia. For one thing, the Chinese are relatively industrious workers. Also there are a few rich Chinese businessmen and thus everybody concludes that all Chinese are rich. There are Chinese secret societies using terrorist methods which have a great hold over many Chinese and can be used for political ends. Also the traditional concept of dual nationality means that all Chinese are citizens of China wherever they reside.

Finally, the success of modern Communism

in China has made China a first-class power again, at least in Asia, and there is a pride in nationalism, even if it is Communist.

All these factors make the Chinese the most maligned people in Malaya—as well as in Indonesia and elsewhere. As a matter of fact, many Chinese in Malaya and Singapore are still very poor, if hardworking; many Chinese feel that Malaya or Singapore is their homeland (and indeed the only home they know); and many Chinese are neutral about the international Chinese Communist struggle if not outright anti-Communist. But they still can be intimidated by the Communists through threats of death.

If Singapore is at the cross-roads of Asia, Malaya is at the cross-roads in deciding its future, with or without Singapore. (Several have suggested that Singapore become a United Nations territory). In any case, to this observer, Malaya and Singapore will not immediately and automatically go Communist. The people in the Federation have felt Communist terror for too many years and the people of Singapore have seen terror in the streets, labour unions, and now in the Chinese schools. If there should be a terrible economic dislocation—and Malaya is much too dependent upon the export and thus the price of rubber and tin—the fertile Malayan peninsula could become much more fertile for Communism. Just now Malaya is hardly a ripe banana or papaya for Chinese Communist picking.

Which brings me back to Aziz in striped blue pajamas on the hospital bed at Kuala Lumpur. A strong Alliance of Malaysians of Chinese, Malay, and Indian ancestry can yet unite the nations. It is said that Malaya is the nation in southeast Asia with the lowest sense of nationalism and the highest per capita income. Perhaps so, but there is a strong national feeling among members of the Alliance and, barring some sudden change between now and July 27, Mr. Aziz will be the first and only pacifist in the new Malayan Federation Legislative Council.

## The point of being a pacifist

FROM PAGE FOUR

have a part to play. Once it has been laid we shall be able to move forward again. For the time being, pacifism must be an individual Witness. But nations can even now be restrained from committing mutual suicide. When you see a potential suicide on Waterloo Bridge the first thing is to get him off the parapet. Only when you've done that can you help him face the future. I can't help feeling that if our pacifism is to have meaning today we must not lay down too many pre-conditions but must act, as and where we can, to save the world from war. And this "realism" isn't cynical and I am not suggesting "slipping in" pacifism when no one is looking. I simply feel that the Third Way is a possible vehicle for the mutual reconciliation of pacifists and the real world. In it pacifists can exercise a definite and creative influence. And that, in an age of politics based on power and force only, is terribly important.

## CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

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LATEST TIME for copy: Monday morning before publication. DISPLAYED ADVERTISEMENTS are required by the Thursday eight days prior to publication.

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## DIARY

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select notices for publication. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore we are grateful for notices of events to:

Saturday, June 11

EPSON: 7 p.m.: Myers Hall (behind Ebbw Vale Hall). Ashley Rd. (nr. traffic lights). Mfg. of pacifists and resisters to nuclear warfare, to decide on publicity activities in streets and press of Epson, Ewell, Leatherhead, Ashstead and district.

Constance Malcolm, 3 St. Martin's Ave., Epson, Surrey. (Epson 3020). SoF, PPU, For, APE, IFL.

LONDON, W.C.1.: 3 p.m.: Kingsway Hall. Eric Fenner, John Loveday invite all to discuss future election activities.

LONDON, W.C.1.: 7.30 p.m.: Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq. Film Show, "The Search." PYAG.

Sunday, June 12

EWELL: 3 p.m.: 94 Park Ave. East. Mrs. E. Savage. "Origins and Trends of Racial Conflict in Union of S. Africa." Surrey Area PPU.

Tuesday, June 14

LOUGHTON: 8 p.m.: St. Mary's Church Hall, High Rd. Public Mtg. Canon Charles Haven. D.D. "Reconciliation—the present opportunity." For.

Every week!

SUNDAYS

HYDE PARK: 3 p.m.: Pacifist Youth Action Group. Every Sunday. PYAG.

GLASGOW: Open-air mtg. Queen's Park Gates, Victoria Rd. 7.45 p.m. Campbell Wilkie and Keith Bovey. Glasgow PPU.

TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m.: Deansgate Blitz. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPF.

THURSDAYS

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.: Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. E.11. Friends PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1.: 1.15-1.45 p.m.: Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen St. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by clergy and laymen of different denominations.

LONDON, W.C.1.: 7.30 p.m.: Dick Shepherd Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

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SATURDAYS

LIVERPOOL: 7.30 p.m.: Pier Head. Open Air Meeting. Liverpool and District Peace Board.

Send notices to arrive not later than Monday mornings. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers; organisers (and secretary's address) —preferably in that order and style.

Wednesday, June 15

BRISTOL: 7 p.m.: Friends Mtg. Ho., Broadweir. Commentary. PPU Gp.

LONDON, W.C.1.: 1 p.m.: Friends Int. Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq. Mrs. Cecily Cook, "The Work of the International Co-operative Women's Guild, and its relationship with other Women's Organisations." WILPF.

Thursday, June 16

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.: Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. John Barnard, "The Other Side of Hospital Life." PPU.

Friday, June 17

COCKERMOUTH: 7 p.m.: Friends Mtg. Ho. John Wrigley, "Christian Conscience and the H-Bomb." SoF.

LONDON, W.C.1.: 7.30 p.m.: Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq. Piano-forte Recital. John Moore Bridger. Refreshments 7 p.m. Admission free. A Peace News Musical evening.

PURLEY: 8 p.m.: Congregational Hall. Public Mtg. "War and the Christian." Dr. Donald Soper, Rev. Alan Staines, Rev. John Weller. SoF, For.

Saturday, June 18

BIRMINGHAM: 3 p.m. and 5 p.m. Woodbrooke. Selly Oak. John Fremlin (Birmingham University). "Atomic Discovery and Civilisation." Two sessions, tea interval. Bring own edibles. For.

CHESTER: 3-4.30 p.m.: Friends Mtg. Ho., Frodsham St. N.W. Area Mtg. PPU.

5 p.m. Wilfred Wellock on his recent visit to USA. Everyone welcome. PPU.

PORTSMOUTH-SOUTHEAST: 2.30 p.m.: Poster Parade; assemble Friends Mtg. Ho. nr. Fratton Station. 4 p.m. Open-air mtg. Speakers Corner, Southsea front. 5.30 p.m. Tea and Peace Exhibition, Foresters Hall. 7 p.m. Any Questions. For, PPU.

Sunday, June 19

LONDON, W.1.: 3.30 p.m.: King's Weigh Ho. Church, Binney St. (nr. Bond St. Stn.) Pacifist Universalist Service. Discourse, Stuart Morris. "God or Caesar." PPU Religion Commission.

ILFORD: 8 p.m.: Friends Mtg. Ho., Cleveland Rd. Discussion re Independent Candidates for future General Elections. For.

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.: Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Miss Simcox "German Holiday." PPU.

Thursday, June 23

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.: Friends Mtg. Ho., Cleveland Rd. Discussion re Independent Candidates for future General Elections. For.

Saturday, June 25

LONDON, N.5.: Quarterly Day of Prayer for Peace. Steenoven Ho., 16 Aberdeen Rd., 12.15 p.m. Holy Communion. 1.15 p.m. Lunch. 3 p.m. Prayers. 4 p.m. Public Mtg. inc. Business Mtg. of the Religion Commission of the PPU. Speaker: Rev. J. Rowe. Questions and Discussion. 5 p.m. Tea. 6 p.m. Intercession Service. 8 p.m. Benediction.



# MOBILE COLUMN IN BRISTOL

made for peace, literally translated meant "Food for Everybody."

Serious thoughts showed in the expressions of listeners as Kenneth Greet closed his speech with "We live or die together, and unless we decide to live, we shall most surely die."

John Ferguson, Chairman of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, told the crowd that he spoke in terms of a Christian. The present situation was sinful. "Sin," he said, "being the thing which prevents God's way from being done in this world." "What do you think is the way of Jesus Christ," he asked. "Is it the way of curing disease, of helping the needy and the innocent, or is it blasting them to destruction?"

"I'm a Christian," murmured a bald-headed gentleman in the crowd, "but I haven't reached this stage of thinking yet."

The Rev. Ronald Redman, speaking of the General Election, said that he believed that the eyes of all Great Britain had been turned on Gravesend. "Now I'm very sorry that Dick Acland did not get back to the House of Commons. He belongs there. His honesty, his courage, and forthrightness—all these things are needed in the Commons," he said.

## But never peace

The attention of many teen-agers who had been strolling-by was arrested when Stuart Morris introduced Christopher Farley, recently in Wormwood Scrubs prison for his refusal to do military service.

Christopher Farley said, "We have waited now four years for disarmament, and we are further from it now than ever before. The world cannot make any attempt at disarmament, because it is torn between two military machines. Both sides have very real grievances, and it is only the peacemakers who can see this."

He outlined the genealogy of today's hell-weapons, showing how each successive invention only produced something "bigger and better," but never peace. It needed vision to deal with today's problems and the future of civilisation. "Where there is no vision the people perish," he concluded.

In the crypt of St. Martin-in-the-Fields across the square, helpers were already preparing refreshments for the crowd, but on the platform Sybil Morrison was handing round much food for thought. She brought the issue to a personal basis, appealing not to fear, but to the consciences of the individual. She drew a verbal picture of parents actually confronted with the horror of seeing children burnt and maimed for no logical reason, and said that she was confident that at such a time, the reaction of every parent would be, "I will not do these things."

At the Peace Exhibition, held in St. Martin's crypt afterwards, viewers saw amongst other exhibits, one of the Hiroshima panels, and the display used in the Gravesend Election campaign.

Many of those who went for a Buffet Tea, and visited the Exhibition, also attended the "Any Questions" gathering in the Crypt in the evening. All seating was filled, and a few were standing.

The question master was Stuart Morris. Questions were answered by Dr. Jack Boag, Vera Brittain, John Ferguson, Christopher Farley, Dennis Hayes and Sybil Morrison.

## No other answer

From MARGARET BROOKS

A procession of cars and a lorry decorated with "Ban The Bomb—Ban All Bombs" and "Love Casts Out Fear" posters surprised the citizens of Bristol last Saturday.

Headed by a van bearing the announcement of the open-air Anti-H-bomb meeting to be held in the evening, it passed from Old Market, with its Saturday shopping crowds and busy Stapleton-road, stopping for its first wayside meeting at Armoury Square.

Passers-by halted, and eagerly accepted pacifist literature: Dr. Donald Soper's sincere plea for complete disarmament, the Fellowship of Reconciliation's declaration in the name of Christianity, Dr. Alex Comfort's disturbing "We are dancing on the edge of a Pit," and Peace News.

Banners flying, meeting here and there with cheers from the friendly citizens of Bristol, the contingent moved on; Will Parkin with the microphone introducing the positive approach to peace by the methods of peace. A stop by the gates of St. George's park, workmen on the road raising a shout of welcome; on via Lawrence Hill to Trinity Church, the Rev. Ivan Page-Wood, vicar of Brislington urging

"Can you hear? Can you read? Can you think?" Everywhere curiosity and interest. Nowhere, at any time, hostility. Always the acceptance that this was freedom put to use. Fishponds and Kingswood were paid flying visits.

Bedminster's busiest shopping centre and another halt by the tobacco factory. Past St. Mary's Church, Redcliffe's "goodliest church in all the land," through Bristol's flowering gardens at the Centre, uphill beyond the University to Whiteladies Road. A poster "Mankind is one Family" blew from the lorry, but a well-wisher in Whiteladies Road retrieved it, and put it for all to see by the parapet of Clifton Down Bridge.

The meeting on Durdham Downs, despite wet grass and a steady wind, lasted two hours with Will Parkin on the platform keeping a good-hearted, fair-sized crowd continually alive to the crimes committed in their name. There was no hostility to pacifism and no justification was offered in defence of the manufacture of the Hydrogen bomb.

Harold Hewitt, Methodist Sunday-school teacher and worker, appealed with deep feeling for the abandonment of all nuclear weapons for the sake of the world's defenceless children. He reminded people that Bristol's children were taught to believe in the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of Man. There was no other answer to the

A motion that the manufacture of the H-bomb is morally and politically unjustified was narrowly defeated by 49 votes to 47 after a debate in the Cambridge Union recently.

## ON FROM THE GENERAL ELECTION

JOHN LOVERSEED and Eric Fenner are to hold a meeting to discuss future election activities, at 3 p.m. tomorrow (Saturday) in Kingsway Hall, London.

John Loverseed writes: "There is obviously a need for a movement based upon Christian principles which will oppose the power politics of the big parties, and give expression to the real will of the people. There is certainly a need to hold together the many friends who have united in the South Lewisham campaign to create an organisation which will continue the good work which has just begun. These are matters which must be discussed and decided."

"So far as the General Election result is concerned I feel we can all take comfort from the fact that, despite all the difficulties and the disadvantages from which we suffered, and despite the misrepresentations of the other parties, there are at least 1,400 people in South Lewisham who heeded our challenge. This is a bridgehead which we must hold at all costs and which can be expanded many times over by the continuing efforts we must all be ready to make."

ANTHONY BAILEY, writing from Bellingham Vicarage, 32 Bellingham Green, SE.6, notes that the poll of 1,400 gained by John Loverseed has stimulated some people to see if more can be done locally. "My main concern," he says, "is not political action, though there must be such; I am concerned that those who have seen anything of the implication of God's will for Peace on earth should get to know each other, and be in informed sympathy with each other."

To these ends, he proposes calling a meeting on June 19, at 3 p.m., in St. Dunstan's Hall, Brookchouse-road, Bellingham, and would like to know how many people are likely to attend, so that a full programme can be arranged.

## TO THE EDITOR

WE members of the London Christian Party (which is pacifist) and Christian pacifists of different denominations, wish to create a pacifist organisation to consider contesting all future by-elections in Great Britain and Northern Ireland. We shall raise in particular the issues of military conscription, preparation for war, unilateral disarmament and the abolition of atomic and hydrogen bombs.

In South Lewisham, an inspiring Independent Christian candidate, John Loverseed, in a campaign of 10 days, has just polled 1,400, nearly three times that of a Communist Party candidate in the previous General Election. Our experience there taught us that we must prepare thoroughly and must call on all pacifists in the British Isles to help, and not only on our recent small band of devoted workers.

The slump in the Labour Party's vote shows that the country has lost faith in those who have forgotten the pacifist tradition of Hardie, Lansbury and Dr. Salter, and are not against war in all circumstances.

We invite all pacifists, of any party or no party, to say when, where and specifically how they can help. All who send a stamped addressed envelope will be informed immediately meetings and plans are arranged.

JUNE ELLIS (Methodist), Secretary; WALLACE HANCOCK, ACIS (Quaker); RONALD MALLONE, BA (Anglican), Chairman; P. A. GAFFNEY, BA (Catholic); Rev. ALBERT D. BELDEN, DD (Congregationalist); Rev. H. J. DALE (Baptist). 141 Woolacombe-road, SE.3.

## New Chairman for Peace News Board

Sybil Morrison has become Chairman of the Board of Directors of Peace News Ltd. She succeeds the retiring Chairman, Emrys Hughes, MP, who remains a member of the Board. Geoffrey Tattersall succeeds Sybil Morrison as Vice-Chairman.

# "Thou shalt not kill"

All over the world there are people who may use the atomic bomb because they have forgotten that it is our duty to regard all lives, however alien and even repellent, as equally sacred. —"A Train of Powder." Rebecca West.

Yet, I wish she would consider the paradox that human life is so much less sacred than the right of society to wring a murderer's neck. —Cyril Connolly, The Sunday Times, June 5, 1955.

MY two quotations this week are taken from the notice in the Sunday Times of Rebecca West's new book about the Nuremberg Trials. The second one is Cyril Connolly's comment upon the first one, which is an extract from the book.

Rebecca West has spent much time and superb literary ability upon the reporting of trials and the indictment of traitors. Her previous writings on these subjects have been brilliant in analysis, and relentless in judgment.

The vivid burnish of her reportage makes for easy reading, and the influence of her opinions upon her readers is commensurately great. It was, therefore, with thankfulness that I read her remark picked out by the reviewer, upon the sacredness of life.

Cyril Connolly in his comment raises the whole question of capital punishment, but he does more than that, for his use of the word "murderer" in the context of war goes even deeper.

Pacifists, if they condemn war as murder, are invariably told that this is a mis-use of the word: that war is not murder, that the premeditated killing of one person by another is in a different category, both actually and morally, from the necessary slaughter that is war.

Killing in war is slaughter, from the sin of which those who carry it out are absolved; it is the taking of human life which receives the blessings of the Christian Church. It is in fact the law of this land, and of many other lands, that men should be conscripted for this purpose, and to refuse is to break the law.

In the last war, the only murderers were the enemy, the only trials those set up to decide upon their culpability. Had the victory gone to Germany and Japan, it is to be assumed that among others, many prominent Britishers would have stood in some dock.

If it were in fact accepted that human life, "however alien and even repellent" is sacred, and that human beings are not, and cannot be fitted to take such irrevocable judgments into their hands, there would be no more capital punishment, and no more wars.

But the sacredness of human life is not accepted as a principle, and those who believe

that society has the right to "wring the neck of a murderer" must, of course, be sure about their definition of murder within the context of war.

Killing the enemy, men, women and children, is the main objective in modern war. British people would naturally shrink from murdering in cold blood tens of thousands of people (even the enemy) by putting them into gas chambers to die.

But, nevertheless, they have not shrunk from sending a bombing pilot to drop in cold blood an experimental atom bomb, which did not put tens of thousands of people to death by anaesthetising them, but by blasting them and burning them, by mutilating and wounding them, so that they died, unassisted, in agony.

The first was cold-blooded, premeditated and utterly inhuman; it was evil in its conception, and brutal in its implementation. The use of the atom bomb was also cold-blooded and premeditated and inhuman; it, too, was evil in conception, and totally unnecessary in its brutal implementation, for Japan was already, according to Churchill's Memoirs, Vol. VI, in communication with Russia in regard to an armistice.

There are many unpremeditated murders committed on an impulse, out of passion or out of fear, but neither the gas chambers nor Hiroshima belong in this category. The attempt to measure one kind of murder against another must always fail, since human judgment is necessarily fallible.

If once the basic moral principle that human life is sacred were accepted then the taking of life, by the hangman or by the bayonet, by the executioner or by the bombing pilot would be a violation of that principle.

We have all sinned, and "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth" advocacy cannot relieve us of our responsibility. On the day that we accept the Sixth Commandment as an essential part of our practical and spiritual life, wars will cease.

## PEACE NEWS

invites you to a

## Musical Evening

PIANOFORTE RECITAL

by

John Moore Bridger

7.30 p.m. Friday, June 17

Friends International Centre  
32 Tavistock Square, W.C.1.

Refreshments 7 p.m.

Admission Free—Collection for the  
Peace News Fund

## Saturday, June 18

Come to the Naval Dockyard Town of

## PORTSMOUTH

"Objective Peace" demonstration

## No H-bombs for Britain

2.30 p.m. Poster Parade. Assemble, Friends  
Mtg. Hse., Fratton Rd. (nr. Fratton Stn.).

4 p.m. Open-air Meeting. Speakers' Corner,  
Southsea Front.  
Speakers: Stuart Morris, Sybil Morrison, Roger  
Rawlinson.

5.30 p.m. Buffet, and Peace Exhibition,  
Foresters' Hall, Fratton Rd.

7 p.m. "Any Questions." Foresters' Hall.  
Panel: F. H. Creed, Muriel Davies, Jack Hick-  
man, Stuart Morris, Sybil Morrison, John Sturges,  
Roger Rawlinson. Question Master: Rev. W.  
Thorns. Objective Peace.

Helpers wanted. Coach leaves London (6 Ends-  
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Peace News Ltd. Printed by Fish & Cook Ltd.,  
Goodwin Press (T.U.), 135 Fenchurch Rd., London.

## DOCTORS

FROM  
PAGE ONE

so far and no further, might be to make an ethical judgment; it was certainly not a scientific judgment. We did not know.

The feeling of the meeting was perhaps best expressed in the words of Dr. D. G. Arnott in the course of the discussion:

"What is so horrifying is that these weapons are coming to be accepted, at a time when we have no knowledge of their full effects, nor can that knowledge be obtained for some generations to come."

A report of the speeches made at the meeting will be published in pamphlet form by the Medical Association for the Prevention of War, 291 Burntwood Lane, London, SW.17.

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